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PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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Lord Boyd Orr, Earl Russell, MPs, writers, doctors and others protest to Trygve Lie, but —

U.N. CAN DO NOTHING ABOUT NAPALM BOMBS ON KOREA

Responsibility rests with U.S. Government

AN influencially signed letter of protest against the use of the napalm bomb by the United Nations forces in Korea was published in The Times on July 8 (It was reproduced in Peace News for July 11). Among the signatories were Lord Boyd Orr, Earl Russell, a considerable number of MPs including Mr. R. H. S. Crossman and Mr. Sidney Silverman, and a number of people distinguished in literature and the arts, including Mr. H. N. Brailsford, Mr. Christopher Fry, Mr. Edmund Blunden, Mr. Compton Mackenzie, Dr. Alex Comfort, Mr. Benjamin Britten and Mr. Michael Tippett.

After describing the effects of napalm and its indiscriminate use against inhabited places the letter concluded with the comment:

"It is a measure of the deterioration of our values that an international organisation set up to defend the rule of law should conduct itself in this manner. We do not accept the argument that because a Power has been declared an aggressor its civilian subjects thereby become legitimate targets for unrestricted warfare. We feel that the time has come for humane men to make an organised protest to the Secretary General of the United Nations."

What the Security Council decided

Dr. Comfort sent a copy of this letter to Mr. Trygvie Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations. In reply the Executive Assistant to Mr. Lie remarks that

"under the Security Council resolution of July 7, 1950, the United States government has been asked to set up a Unified Command in Korea and that, therefore, responsibility for military operations is clearly vested in the Government."

This letter seems to repudiate any control by the United Nations over any action taken by the Command appointed by the United States government in the course of military operations. The letter has, however been sent to New York for the attention of Mr. Trygvie Lie, and it is possible that he may not be able to take the view that the degree of responsibility left with the United States Government is so completely unqualified.

The resolution of July 7, 1950, referred to by the Executive Assistant to the Secretary General, after having placed the forces fighting on the side of the South Korean Government under the United States and requested the United States to designate the Commander of these forces, goes on to request the United States Government to provide reports to the Security Council "on the course of the action taken under the unified Command."

The letter quoted above would appear to treat this provision as a pure formality which gives the Security Council no right or responsibility to bring under evamination the kind of action taken.

2,000 RACE LAWS ARRESTS

Nationalists threaten to flog

by JOHN FLETCHER.

The South African Civil Disobedience Campaign which began on June 26 has in seven weeks produced over two thousand volunteers who have been arrested for deliberately breaking the colour-bar laws. The campaign seems still to be proceeding according to plan. Information from "The Times" correspondent in Johannesburg on August 7, is typical of the whole two thousand.

"A total of 134 Africans who had taken part in the passive resistance campaign against racial discrimination laws were fined or sent to prison in South Africa today—79 in East London and 55 in Grahamstown. In East London the defendants were mostly women. Six young girls were cautioned and discharged. The others were each fined £2, the alternative being 20 days hard labour, for not having service contract registration certificates. None of the fines were paid . . . "

At Grahamstown the defendants, including 14 women, were also fined £2 with the alternative of 20 days in prison, on charges of contravening pass laws. None of the fines were paid. One African was sentenced to three months hard labour for inciting a crowd of non-Europeans to obstruct the police in their duty.

Severity urged upon magistrates

It can still be said that the Magistrates are lenient in the punishments they impose for this open law-breaking campaign, and it is significant that they are not giving way to government pressure. The Africaner paper, Die Oosterleg (11.7.52) reports: "I have received instructions from the Attorney General to request the magistrates to levy the most drastic sentences on this first group of law breakers," said Mr. G. W. Gildenhuys, senior public prosecutor in Port Elizabeth when the first 30 Natives were charged in court with the breaking of "unjust laws."

In the leading article on the same day the same paper says: "The sentences which had been passed on the first group who had broken the apartheid laws (they had been fined £6 or 30 days imprisonment of which half had been suspended for six months) are simply ludicrous. They will certainly not act as a deterrent. The only language they will really understand is the language of the cane and the lash."

Later news gives a threat of new legislation for heavier penalties to combat the campaign. Mr. Swart, the Minister of Justice, speaking at Ventersburg on August 4 said:

"The present organised law breaking, which aimed at provoking the government, had created a serious situation. If the existing laws were not effective the Government would not hesitate to introduce the necessary legislation to deal with offenders. No government would allow the things now being done by the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and other organisations."

How to boost defence

A LETER sent to all US Congressmen by the Committee Against Militarisation, Chicago, points out how the Truman administration has twice timed the announcements of atomic explosions in the USSR in such a way as to influence the approval of the defence appropriations.

The announcement of the first explosion was made on September 23, 1949, just two days after Congress returned from a recess, when a major task before it was the consideration of the Defence Dept. appropriation. The President had, however, known about the explosion for 9 weeks or more.

The second explosion was announced on October 3, 1951, the day after a House-Senate conference committee reported the proposed Defence Dept. appropriations for 1952, which were nearly 20 per cent. higher than for 1951. On this occasion it was stated that the explosion had occurred "within recent weeks."

NAVY HAS GERM DEFENCE SHIP

IT became known last week that HMS Ben Lomond, a 1,625-ton converted tank landing craft with a normal complement of 64, has been engaged for three months past in secret experiments off the Outer Hebrides in connection with defence against germ warfare.

According to the Daiy Herald, the vessel has scientists on board, and experimental animals, including sheep, pigs and goats. When experiments take place, the Ben Lomond, her guard ships and the harbourmaster's office at Stornaway fly red flags. All other shipping has been ordered to keep clear of the area.

Cirencester friends & the Dean

MEMBERS of the Society of Friends at Cirencester have written to the Dean of Canterbury expressing regret at the fact that he had been "abused with insulting epithets of the grossest kind" in he Houses of Parliament.

They say:

"We are not Communist, nor are we in possession of the facts which can assure us of the truth or otherwise of allegations made against the Allied Nations in respect of Bacterial Warfare.

"We ourselves believe that not only germ warfare but all weapons, all war, as also slander and hatred by whomsoever used, whether by nations at enmity or by dignitaries and members of churches at variance with each other are against the example of Christ.

WANTON DESTRUCTION

A Labour Senator, William Morrow, speaking in the Australian Senate on August 6, urged the Government to lodge a protest with the United Nations against the bombing of North Korean cities.

Referring to the 78 towns that had been marked for bombing, Senator Morrow said if this were carried out "it must result in wanton destruction of men, women and children and their homes."

"Senator Morrow's sympathy for the Communists of North Korea is not universally shared by Australians" was the response of Senator O'Sullivan, the Government leader.

FRIENDS APPEAL FOR PEACE IN KOREA

Break the vicious circle of hatred

AN appeal for peace in Korea through the good offices offered by India was sent out on August 6 by the Quaker World Conference, whose sessions had just closed at Oxford.

The appeal reads:

"The continuing tragedy of the war in Korea has rested heavily upon us. It is our earnest hope that all those in positions of political authority will make renewed and constructive efforts to achieve peace. In particular we hope that the willingness of the Government of India to use their good offices in the cause of peace may be followed up actively. It is our desire that all Friends everywhere should unite in prayer for those in authority that they may be led into the paths of peace."

The message was cabled to the Foreign Ministers of the Chinese People's Republic, the USSR, the USA and Great Britain, and also to the principal negotiators at Panmunjom, the Prime Ministers of North and South Korea, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and Mr. Nehru.

Break the vicious circle

Another message issued by the Conference "To Peoples Everywhere," speaks of the vicious circle of hatred, oppression, subversive movements, false propaganda, rearmament and new wars which war brings in its train, and continues:

"We call upon peoples everywhere to break this vicious circle, to behave as nations with the same decency as they would behave as men and brothers, to substitute the institutions of peace for the instituutions of war.

"Let us join together throughout the world to grow more food, to heal and prevent disease, to conserve and develop the resources of the good earth to the glory of God and the comfort of man's distress. These are among the tasks to which, in humility for our share in the world's shame, and in faith in the power of love, we call our own Society and all men and nations everywhere."

Double standard of morality

Two of the conference sessions on August 4 were devoted to peace and world service.

The afternoon session on peace was opened by Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, a member of the Quaker Mission to Moscow. There was a double standard of morality in the world, she declared. Men who were good and kind fathers could talk with pride of their sons taking part in Operation Killer. There was false propaganda in East and West.

"Children's minds are corrupted and men and women are misused, all in the name of peace and freedom. We know that an armaments race cannot bring peace and freedom and security, and that tyranny and exploitation and injustice cannot be uprooted by spying and lying and by war."

She spoke of the many different ways in which Friends were working for peace, and said that each must be faithful to his own concern, and all must work to change the institution of war into the institution of peace, to change the way in which men think and act.

The problem facing Japan

A Japanese Friend, Tokuya Azumi, spoke next. He referred to the new constitution imposed on his country by the Allies, which had provided for the renunciation of war and the abandonment of armaments. Large numbers of the Japanese people had accepted these provisions wholeheartedly in their penitence. Now the Western Powers were changing their attitude and were trying to encourage militarism in Japan again.

"Is it the will of God to make Japan re-arm ?" he asked.

"The vicious circle of distrust, fear, armament and war must be broken somewhere at once. It appears that the divine will has chosen Germany and Japan for this significant mission. I earnestly appeal to 'that of God' in all of you, that this Conference, through your prayer, shall encourage both your people and my people to maintain this peace constitution and not to have rearmament in Japan."

John Kay, of York, appealed to Friends to be very loyal to their peace testimony. "If we are going to ask peoples and Governments to turn their pre-conceived ideas upside down," he said, "we must show that we are already living in the way to which we call others—that we really are sharing and caring."

Deryck A. Sivén, of Finland, a member of the War Resisters' International, said that his country's position in the world was unique.

Finland was not allowed to have an army of more than 40,000 men, and she was on the borders of the Soviet Union, yet there was no war hysteria there, as there was in countries farther away and highly armed. "It is not possible to trust at the same time in God and in armaments," he declared. "We have to choose. A small country can only put its faith in God, who has so far preserved us."

End hate propaganda

John S. Hoyland, of Birmingham, referred to Mr. Eden's appeal at the United Nations for a new spirit of tolerance and give-and-take. That was the kind of world government that was wanted—world government by the spirit of God.

Richard K. Ullman, also of Birmingham, suggested that just as this country ought to disarm unilaterally, so everyone concerned for peace should start to do away with hate propaganda unilaterally. And Christians should stop being frightened. Even if nothing survived of the civilisations they knew, God would survive, and any people who survived in a war, if it came, would be children of God.

The responsibility of service

The subject of the Conference's evening session was "The Responsibility of Service."

A number of American Friends expressed their concern at the inequalities of distribution of wealth and power in the world. Gilbert F. White, President of Haverford College, Pennsylvania, spoke of the comfortable Oxford colleges in which they were housed and of the fact that Friends lived mostly in privileged countries, as members of a privileged middle class, benefiting from the tradition and prestige which had been accorded to the Society of Friends by virtue of service performed by other Quakers in the past.

They were called, he said, to a complete commitment of themselves to the Christian way of life and service.

Jean P. Inebnit, of Leeds, who has worked for many years with the International Voluntary Service for Peace, urged Friends to press for the formation of a United Nations organisation which would give expression to the desire of young people all over the world to give creative service.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N4
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15th August, 1952.

A PEACE PETITION

IN an open letter addressed to Stalin which is published in the Tribune (it has presumably also found publication in the USA) Upton Sinclair concludes with the paragraph:

> "If my circumstances permitted the wide circulation of this letter, I am sure that I could present to you the signatures of tens of millions of Americans, beseeching you to come to them with the extended hand of friendship, and promising to convince you not merely of their good faith but of their ability as self-governing citizens of a free democratic society to influence their government and see to it that peace, justice and brotherhood are made to prevail in this tormented world."

How true this is. That prayer for friendship and peace would also be endorsed by millions of simple people in this country, and doubtless in France and Germany and throughout the rest of the world. Millions of the people who have signed the peace petition of the World Peace Council would be equally ready to sign this too.

Not many of them would be deterred by the fact that in the course of his letter Sinclair has remarked that Stalin's philosophy prevents him from believing in the ability of the people to free themselves from economic feudalism, but to hold on the other hand that the only way this can be done is by the seizure of power by a trained minority and a dictatorship over the proletariat; or by his contention that the armed alliance of the West has been brought about by aggressive moves by Russia in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Turkey, Iran and Korea.

★

In subscribing to Sinclair's appeal with its eloquent plea in the paragraph we have quoted, the millions would not bring a nice discrimination to these charges, any more than they have asked themselves whether a degree of calculation not unconnected with the politics of power has entered into the proposals that are associated with the World Peace Council's petition.

In the case of this letter as in the case of the petition these things would sink into insignificance in the minds of the signatories beside the fact that they were offered an opportunity to declare their fervent desire that there shall be peace.

Upton Sinclair indites his letter to Stalin as from one old man to another. He is 73; Stalin is 72. He remarks:

> "I address you as a fellow human being, made of flesh and nerves which naturally shrink from being pierced by sharp fragments of steel or being poisoned by the invasion of radioactive materials."

Although it will doubtless seem to any Russian who may be able to read this letter that there is bias in the presentation of the facts that are handled, as it seems to us that there is a certain naivete in the assumptions that are made, it is apparent that the letter is written, as Sinclair claims, in frankness and earnestness; it deserves to be considered and replied to in the same frank and earnest spirit, and a reply that manifested the same concern that the sum of human suffering and frustration should not be added to could do a great deal towards bringing a more tranquil spirit to the world.

★

Sinclair is guilty of the same over-simplification as the notorious and malevolent war issue of Collier's when he writes as if the decision that is to govern whether the world is to go down in catastrophe rests wholly with Stalin. He should consider that when he writes "There appears to be an arrogant spirit in rulers which drives them to such courses in defiance of all the warnings of history," the fact that the word "rulers" is a plural is not without significance.

Nevertheless, if it were possible for Stalin to reply to this letter in terms that were not dictated by the preconceptions of an ideology, and that even if they had to echo in reverse the national self-righteousness that is to be found in Sinclair's letter, would also express the same genuine feeling for a humanity hag-ridden by fear—if that is to say, he could bring himself to write a reply "as a fellow human being" who does not regard himself as superior to human compassion—such a gesture might do much towards turning a world increasingly divided by growing terrors into a world in which men might begin to learn to live in peaceful co-operation.

★

An action of this kind would sit more fittingly on the shoulders of a man in his seventies than a relentless contempt for human suffering.

Disgruntled Front Benchers

FOLLOWING the heavy opposition votes given in the House of Commons on the issue of the agreement with Germany and German rearmament there is contention in the ranks of the Labour Party which is being pursued on two levels: the wrangle level, which treats the matter as a quarrel in which personalities predominate; and the serious discussion level, where the issues of policy involved are brought under review.

On the wrangle level we have had a succession of indignant speeches from those who have found themselves recently in a minority in the Labour Party and who were averse to voting against the Conservative Gvoernment on this issue. These complain of the existence of "a party within a party." They treat the matter as if the policy that was laid down while they occupied Government Front Bench places can only be challenged if undesirable motives and methods are at work.

Thus we have had speeches from Mr. R. R. Stokes, Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker and Mr. George Brown, all of which, wherever they have been been delivered (Mr. Brown's was at Cottenham, Cambridgeshire), have received a very full measure of publicity.

Mr. Brown spoke of a small group that was forcing the party to spend time and energy in an internal quarrel, and of the fact that people would not work in order to swing such a group into power. In the face of the votes in the House it is easy to be seen that all this merely expresses the peevish exasperation of those who, assuming that their view had the support of a majority, now find themselves in a minority.

The real Issue for the Tribune Group

LORD PAKENHAM also makes the "party within a party" complaint in an article in the Tribune, and that journal finds no difficulty in dealing with this aspect of his argument. Lord Pakenham, however, also treats the matter on the policy level, and with this side of his contentions the Tribune does not deal.

He says that the important issue for those who think with Mr. Bevan is, "Do we or do we not recognise the need for an Atlantic Alliance to deal with the Russian danger?"

Greatly as we welcome the votes cast by Mr. Bevan and those who think with him on the issue of the contractual agreement with Germany, we agree with Lord Pakenham that this is really the crux of the matter.

Lord Pakenham holds that apart from the Atlantic Alliance "our influence in the world would disappear and with it such security as we possess." He believes that British influence depends today on armed power as in the past; there is the present difference, however, that British armed power must be founded on its association with the USA.

That Britain can continue to be a Great Power in the traditional sense on these terms is a transparent fallacy, and the attempt to act on that fallacy is rapidly reducing British influence in the world. We are being dragged by one of the two great world powers along a road that is not our road and that we can perceive to be wrong and dangerous.

"Such security as we possess" is experienced in conditions in which we live in an increasing fear that America is just as likely as Russia to take some action that will precipitate an atomic world war.

That we cannot be both part of NATO and not part of it, however, is not a fallacy; Lord Pakenham is right there; and it is very significant that this was an issue that the Tribune preferred not to discuss.

Fair and Friendly

COMMENTING on the departure of John McCloy from Germany at the end of his three years' service as American High Commissioner, the Manchester Guardian correspondent said that:

> "If the Germans do eventually agree to raise another army it will be largely due to Mr. McCloy's tactful persistence. He has accustomed them by quiet degrees to the military idea with the result that they no longer think of it as a monstrous suggestion but as something that had to be considered."

The correspondent added that it would be a pity, and would lead to misunderstandings, if the Americans were to base their policies on the belief that the projected German Army would be a replica of the German armies of the past.

This view does not seem to be shared by General Sir John Harding, who is to succeed Field Marshal Sir William Slim as Chief of the Imperial General Staff before the end of the year. Speaking to the Foreign Press Association in Bonn he tried to deal with the difficulties in the way of morale and discipline which the determination to rearm Germany would create.

It would obviously not be easy for British troops to accustom themselves to the sight of Germans once more in uniform, and even to take orders from German officers. We can imagine the thoughts of a British sergeant-major required to salute a German officer, and are reminded of the story of the soldier who when saluting always whispered "and the same to you."

General Harding was, therefore, concerned about the relation between British and German troops and his solution was to bespeak a "fair and friendly approach." But in his anxiety to conciliate German military opinion he was guilty of a most unfortunate observation when he said that German military thinking would contribute tremendously to Western defence.

BEHIND THE NEWS

To this he added that the West could best learn to fight the Russians from their new allies —the Germans, and in reply to a comment that the Germans "were licked" smilingly replied, "It's never too late to learn the hard way, is it?"

If he is correctly reported General Harding has gone well beyond his book, and it is more than time that high ranking officers were called to account for political statements of this kind. The effect of his remarks will be to justify a belief that we want to use the Germans to fight the Russians and encourage those at present small elements in Germany who would like to have the opportunity to avenge their defeat.

Such statements are bound to increase the fears and suspicions of the Soviet Union, and they are a further indication of the danger of re-arming Germany. We must continue to do all that is possible to prevent the final ratification of the Contractual Agreement, and to insist on an early meeting of the four powers to reach a peaceful solution of the German problem.

Clark and Rhee

WHAT did General Clark mean by his telegram of congratulations to Syngman Rhee?

> "Please accept my most sincere congratulations upon your re-election as President by the overwhelming majority of the people of Korea. The free democratic peoples of the world have long had before them the inspiring example of your fight for freedom and independence."

We can hardly suppose that the General was telegraphing with his tongue in his cheek, but is he not aware that in any case the elections were only held in South Korea, and has he forgotten that a few short weeks ago Rhee was not only clashing with his own Assembly but that his tyranny was causing the greatest concern to the British and American governments as well as to the United Nations?

The result of the elections is not surprising. It was indeed Rhee's knowledge that he was not likely to be re-elected by the Assembly, but could rely on his propaganda and influence in the country, that led him to force through the necessary change in the constitution by such dictatorial methods.

It was not because he is a democrat on principle, but because he was prepared to exploit Democracy for his own ends.

What has been achieved by such doubtful methods can hardly be acclaimed as a victory for democracy. On the best showing it appears that for the sake of democracy some have to put up with Syngman Rhee and others with the Dean of Canterbury!

The hard fact is that Rhee remains in control in S. Korea with an added inducement to pursue the undemocratic methods and the fatal policy for which he has stood ever since the Americans put him in power before the Korean war.

It was largely due to him that the possibility was missed of uniting Korea under a central government.

As The Times leading article puts it:

> "The trouble is that some of these leaders went to the United States where they became converted to American political principles, while others went to China and Soviet Russia, where they became fervent admirers of totalitarian rule. Between these two schools of thought there is no common ground and the war in Korea has widened the gulf between."

It would be difficult from this to decide where Rhee went.

Much will obviously depend on how Rhee uses his increased prestige, but the fulsome flattery of General Clark will not help him to see the error of his ways.

Break the deadlock

GENERAL CLARK should know that if they think about it at all, the free democratic peoples of the world have seen through the propaganda about police action to stop aggression.

They are more and more certain that the war in Korea is a ghastly and unnecessary tragedy, and are increasingly convinced of the necessity of bringing it to an end at once. General Clark may yet have cause to regret his congratulations, for if and when the armistice talks succeed, President Rhee will be one of the biggest problems with which the United Nations will have to deal.

In the meantime concern grows as the talks lengthen out, and American plans are divulged which provide for the bombing of 78 centres of civilian population on the ground that they have become military objectives, and even of blockade measures against China.

Some officials seem to be more concerned about the measures to be taken if the talks break down than with ensuring that they shall not break down. If the deadlock continues our own Government must try to break it by calling for a special meeting of the Security Council and seeking the good offices of Nehru and other neutral governments to mediate between the parties and find a compromise on the question of the repatriation of prisoners, which alone stands in the way of an armistice.

Conscience and the Colour Bar

WE reported in Peace News for August 1 a reply from the Colonial Secretary to a question by Fenner Brockway which indicated that the new law applying conscription in Malaya does not include provision for exemption on grounds of conscientious objection.

Perhaps even more important than Mr. Lyttleton's indication of this fact was his reply to a supplementary question in which he gave the reason. This was that special consideration "at the moment" would lead to very grave administrative difficulties if it were attempted to introduce such exemptions.

But surely the establishment of the provision led to very grave administrative difficulties in this country when the first Conscription Act was enacted. Those difficulties had to be overcome.

This is a matter that should be brought under review. If a right of conscience is recognised in this country it should also be recognised for colonial peoples for which our legislature has responsibility. We do not want Sir Gerald Templar to legislate for us in a matter of this importance; and we do not want a colour bar to operate where conscience is concerned.

Pacifism and the Social Order

WE print in this issue a letter in which a correspondent objects to the implication that he finds *in* Peace News "that pacifism and Socialism are, ipso facto, bedfellows."

We agree with our correspondent that "war-renunciation is a bigger issue than any, or all of the political "isms'." Nevertheless we are convinced that the principles that bring men and women into the pacifist movement must have some consequences for them as to the kind of society they believe to be compatible with a pacifist outlook.

They need not, of course, hold the view that such a society must be arranged on Socialist principles, but they must surely see it as a society that is radically different from the kind of society we live in today.

We know that in fact many pacifists do envisage the society that would be compatible with the principles that impel their pacifism as one or other of the variants of the Socialist conception. The fact that this is so, however, has not prevented many of these from refusing to vote for a Labour Government that was responsible for peacetime conscription and the intensifying of a re-armament programme.

We agree with our correspondent, nevertheless, that it is not inevitable that pacifists should have a socialist outlook. We invite readers—particularly those readers who do not hold socialist views—to send us brief contributions indicating the kind of social organisation they would find compatible with their pacifist philosophy of life.

AN ENVIABLE CONSCIENCE

A READER has sent a contribution to PN saying it "represents payment from National Insurance for absence from work through sickness."

In the Middle Ages, sick people would often vow a specified number of wax candles to their favourite saint on condition that they got better.

I prefer this modern version of the custom. Formerly, the gift was merely a bribe, induced by fear rather than devotion. Indeed, it is recorded that on regaining their health, patients would frequently try to evade their bargain, and the priest had to keep them to it by fear of hell.

But this good man made no bargain. He did not promise the Ministry of Health that if he got better he would forward their benefits to Peace News. If he had, the Ministry might have kicked and he would not have got his money.

Nevertheless, his action is as logical as it is virtuous. For unless the State adopts the policy advocated by PN, its Health Services will soon go bankrupt.

Let me, however, reassure our friend on one point. He says: "Somebody has said, 'Disease should be regarded as a stain on society.' Having paid my fine for inflicting such an outrage upon society, I trust my conscience will be relieved."

He doesn't mention the nature of his complaint, so I cannot say whether the social stain from which he suffered was his fault or society's. Generally the responsibility is about 50-50. But I can assure him he need not worry about his conscience. Whatever it was before, it is now guaranteed 100 per cent stainless. Indeed, looked at from here, it is positively dazzling.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

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The immorality of the Z-recall

MOST of those now being recalled as Z-reservists are servicemen from the second World War who originally accepted an appeal to resist Fascist tyranny.

The implication of that appeal was that, the danger once defeated, the individual would be returned to full civilian status. This has never happened.

And with victory accomplished, servicemen were so anxious to get out of the Forces that they did not fully comprehend the administrative swindle of temporary demobilisation as distinct from discharge.

Now (only a few short years after 1939-45) international diplomacy has transformed enemy into ally and ally into enemy. The effect of this, so far as the Z-scheme is concerned, has been to transfer an allegiance gained for one purpose to an entirely different objective.

The Z-scheme is thus quite immoral. The individual, even if once disciplined by the Services, is not a non-thinking automaton, not a means rather than an end. The State has no over-riding and continuing right to his allegiance; it must always deserve it. And it will deserve it only by seeking consent to the purposes it seeks to make effective.

Those purposes today have a strangely totalitarian content, and they give rise to a mounting tide of resistance to military service and Z-recall.

This resistance is of the essence of democracy; for only in such resistance can the individual fulfil the duty which democracy lays upon him to contribute the value of his personality, experience and instructed judgement to the formulation of public policy.

The lesson which any democratic government must draw is clear; it conscripts at its peril. If it seeks to enlist the support of the masses it must forego imperialism and fascist tendencies lest it find itself in a war which lacks popular support.

Its aim and policy must be agreement—not "defence" and armament; sanity—not power and prestige; liberty—not conscription and Z-slavery; international fellowship—not imperialism and power politics. In short—peace not war.

ALLAN MARSHALL.

Hiroshima an Experiment

"There is reason to believe that the atom bombs were hurriedly dropped on the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki for experimental purposes after the United States Government had been warned that Japan's capitulation was close at hand and that 'live targets' would therefore not much longer be available."—*R. Goodman, MA, New Zealand Christian Pacifist, June 1952.*

THE RUSSIANS AND PEACE

by

Naomi Mitchison

The writer was one of six members of the Authors' World Peace Appeal who recently visited the Soviet Union as guests of the Soviet Authors' Society. Other members of the delegation were: A. E. Coppard, Arnold Kettle, Doris Lessing, Richard Mason and Douglas Young. Mrs. Mitchison, well known as a novelist and contributor to the Manchester Guardian, The New Statesman and Forward, is the wife of Gilbert Mitchison, QC, Labour MP for Kettering since 1945.

THE Russians want peace but they are definitely not pacifists.

I doubt if they have any sympathy for pacifism, though they admit that religious pacifism is something which can be respected.

If a religious pacifist book were to be written it might, for instance, be published by the Religious Publishing House in Moscow.

But the point of view that wars are always stpuid and always do more harm than good, is quite alien.

They see war as essentially defensive, the defence of something that they value intensely. Nor would any war in which they might get involved be to them anything but a defensive war.

Intervention

Thus, those who say that the Soviet Union has inherited the imperialism of the Tsars, are talking nonsense.

What has happened is something entirely different. Let us take a hypothetical case. Supposing, for instance, that in a country such as Italy, there was a Communist seizure of power, due to the general mass of people having lost patience with their rulers and (perhaps mistakenly) having no faith that anything would ever be done for them by any other party, and supposing there was then a move by the other European powers, egged on by the United States, to help the other side and "contain Communism," the Russians would be bound to try and help their fellow Communists.

This is a possible war situation, though I hope it is one, which will not arise. Certainly no country nowadays wants to get involved in modern war, for whatever cause.

No doubt there would be an attempt to keep out of a complete state of warfare, but, supposing it were to come, it would appear to the Russians as defensive, although waged on Italian soil, and it would certainly appear to be aggressive and imperialist to those on the other side.

Defence

With this in mind, we must realise that while no Russians want war, they are all prepared to defend Communism, certainly in their own country, probably anywhere else where it may have a chance of success.

The group of writers from the AWPA with whom I went to the Soviet Union were particularly interested in books and we looked at a number. Many heroes in books, whether for children or adults, are soldiers, sailors or airmen. But they are always depicted as being strictly *defensive*.

I think this is important, especially in the kind of conditioning that it gives to children.

They never feel themselves to be herrenfolk; aggressive tendencies are not encouraged. Nor is there any glorification of war in itself, or of violence. In fact it would be truer to say that the Russian soldier in the books is somewhat sentimentalised, so as to appear in the main gentle and noble and dis-interested.

The fact that these virtues are valued is important. But, equally, it is the soldier who is thought to have them, just as much or more than the civilian.

Peace is an important word. You see it everywhere. There are dozens of songs about it. It comes into speeches and slogans. But it does mean something rather different to the Russians.

At the moment "peace" means to them: "the Americans must leave Korea." If you look at it all as a straight-forward matter of defence, with everything in black and white, then that is how it must be. And perhaps the argument as to who actually started being aggressive to whom in the murky beginnings of the Korean war, is now not very important. But of course it doesn't seem at all like that to the non-Communist or the non-Russian and it is almost impossible to explain one's own point of view in present day Russia. To them, it doesn't make sense.

They suffered terribly during the last war. We do not realise quite how much.

There is hardly a family which escaped, and, of course, whole towns and villages were utterly destroyed, often with the most terrible cruelties.

Such national monuments as Peterhof, although of no military importance, were deliberately smashed up—I believe, in the case of Peterhof, by the Spanish "blue" division with the Nazis. So they do know what war means.

On one of our evenings in Moscow a woman came up to Doris Lessing and me, and asked who we were. We said we were an English delegation.

"Za mir?" she asked (For peace?) and when we said yes, she pressed our hands, the tears in her eyes, and told us that her four sons had been killed in the last war—which, over there, is called "The Great Patriotic war."

There is, then, a complete knowledge of what war means. No one in Russia can possibly want it or talk lightly about it in the way that people sometimes do in a country which has never been invaded or even bombed. They will certainly try to do everything possible by negotiation.

But they are also willing to defend themselves, and this very exciting country which they have made, and anyone who thinks that an attack on Russia would mean an internal collapse, is utterly mistaken.

It is the country of the common man in a sense that no other country is, and they will die for it.

Patriotism

Patriotism is something more than a mere word there, or a flag and a sentiment. It means the raising of their standard of life from depths below that of any present European country to something a lot higher than millions in this country are used to.

It means indefinite possibilities of betterment in the future, when the new irrigation and afforestation schemes have brought thousands of square miles of land into production. That is a patriotism with a very solid base and most people respond enthusiastically, and un-cynically.

We all feel, to some extent at least, that patriotism is "the last refuge of a scoundrel." But that would be a shocking idea to a Russian, as it would have been to an Elizabethan. There is a difference of epoch. And that shows in the different meanings that can become attached to important words—such as peace.

Men who live peace: 5 — **By Robert Greacen**

MICHAEL SCOTT

DURING the past decade we have seen one of the most startling, yet hardly surprising, developments in world affairs: the growth of national consciousness in Asia.

India, Pakistan and Ceylon are now independent, thanks to one of the more imaginative gestures of the post-war Labour Government. The peoples of these countries are, by and large, our friends.

On the other hand, Indonesia had to wrest her freedom from a reluctant and imperial-minded Dutch Government. The contrast is obvious.

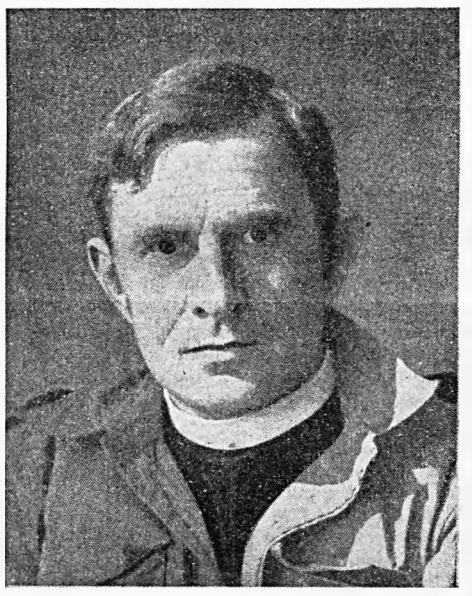
As in Asia, so in Africa. The Africans, too long exploited by Europeans, look towards the attainment of independence. And those who live in British administered areas cannot have been reassured by Britain's unwillingness to take up the challenge of the repressive and cruel Malan regime in South Africa, and of the less cruel but equally reactionary Smuts Government that preceded it.

But if British governments and officials see the better way, yet choose expediency, one man does not. The Rev. Michael Scott, in fact, seems in a sense to have become the guardian of the white man's conscience in Africa.

Now forty-five, he was born in Sussex, the son of an Anglican clergyman. At nineteen he went to South Africa, ironically enough, for the sake of his health—and after working in a leper institute, took holy orders on his return to England. In 1943, having been invalided out of the RAF, he went back to South Africa.

It may occasion surprise that Scott served in the R.A.F. Perhaps one may quote his own words on pacifism:

"I am pledged to the methods of pacifism and some time ago had occasion to declare this in a public petition to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of the Church of England of which I am an ordained priest . . . I resigned my parochial work in 1940 in



MICHAEL SCOTT

order to enlist in the RAF. I felt at the time that while war was necessary to defend the country and all the best traditions of Britain it was yet not compatible with Christ's Gospel to go to war and the methods of war should not be represented as compatible with Christ's methods."

He took up the cause of the Herero and other tribes in South West Africa against incorporation of the Mandated Territory by the Union of South Africa. Against the wishes not only of the Union but of Britain, too, Michael Scott fought for and was eventually granted a hearing on the Hereros' behalf by the UN trusteeship Council.

Nobody who knew UN procedure, with all its back-stairs intrigue, would have believed it possible that such an "innocent" could force his way past the professional diplomats. But courage and persistence have an odd way of achieving the impossible. Thus Scott gained for this cattle-raising African tribe the ear of the world.

Today in England he continues the struggle for justice for all the peoples of that vast continent, being, for instance, a member of the Executive Committee of the recently-formed Africa Bureau.

What kind of a man is this Michael Scott, who once ministered in a fashionable London parish, unaware of the destiny that lay ahead, including a 3 months sentence in a Durban prison for defying the colour bar?

To quote from Freda Troup's valuable study of Scott's challenge to South Africa, "In Face of Fear" (Faber), he is "a man with absolutely no personal ambition and one so self-effacing that it is difficult to persuade him to use the word "I" if it can be avoided . . . He is a Christian in the sense that needs no qualification. The light by which he lives is that ultimate simplification: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God . . . and thy neighbour as thyself', and it is the things on which he directs this light that we see reflected in our newspapers."

Needless to say, Michael Scott is no longer welcome in the Union of South Africa where he has been viciously and persistently represented as a Left-wing agitator and publicity hunter. The Hereros do not seem to be impressed by the Afrikaans newspapers.

Those who wish to consider in detail what Scott has to say on the intricate though urgent problems of Africa and its native peoples should get hold of his pamphlet, "Civilisation in Africa" (publisher by the Fellowship of Reconciliation at 3d.) and the interesting Penguin Special "Attitude to Africa" of which Scott is part-author.

In a world dominated by concepts of violence and fraud that threaten a third War of unparalleled dimensions it might well seem that the fate of an obscure African tribe is of little account. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Scott speaks of the Hereros becoming for him "symbolic of all the landless and dispossessed people in the world." And not only in symbolical but in severely practical terms we may find that we shall need to reckon with the African's determination to break the white man's baaskap (mastery).

That there are men like Michael Scott, who actually practise what they teach, is one cause for hope that the problems of Africa may be solved without bloodshed. Through such men may come an answer to that moving prayer of an old Herero chief:

"O Lord, help us who roam about. Help us who have been placed in Africa and have no dwelling place of our own. Give us back a dwelling place."

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FIVE YEARS OF WAR IN MALAYA

Facing Facts in Malaya, by Gerald de Cruz. Union of Democratic Control, 6d.

THE author of this up-to-date and factual survey of events and conditions in Malaya is an experienced Malayan journalist and well-known member of the Malayan Nationalist Movement, at one time secretary of the All Malaya Council for Joint Action, an organisation uniting all political parties and trade unions of Malaya on the demand for immediate self-government within the Commonwealth.

The war in Malaya, now in its fifth year, he describes as one in which "thirty thousand regular soldiers and another 300,000 police and armed auxiliaries of various types, armed with the most modern weapons, energetically supported by Air Force and Navy, have been unable to overcome and vanquish what officialdom both here and in Malaya describes as '3,000 to 5,000 armed bandits'."

To explain, in part, this position, the author quotes from "The Dilemma in Malaya" an article in the March 22 issue of the Economist, which argues:

> "If the British are to make any progress they must try to work with the local leaders of all the communities; yet there are no real leaders possessing the confidence of their peoples with whom to work."

This view is substantiated by the remark made by General Templar soon after taking up his new duties:

> "I could win this war in three months if I could get two thirds of the people on my side. It is not a military problem, it is a political war. The basic problem is the people."

*

Broadly speaking about 40 per cent. of the population are Malays, and another 40 per cent. are Chinese. To build a new Malayan nation composed of Malayan Malays, Chinese and Indians is a large job, he points out, and requires an energy and devotion which could only be commanded by Malayan leaders having the full confidence of their people, and having their deep roots in the people. In other words "There can be no united Malayan nation without a self-governing Malaya."

The author gives an appalling picture of the present administration in Malaya, of police methods which include "revolver shots, kickings, punchings, beatings with a cane, even the insertion of needles under finger nails" for those whose only crime was that they had not given evidence. At present these counter terror methods are being applied on an ever-widening scale.

He lists many of the dark problems which pervade every aspect of an economy which is based on two raw materials, rubber and tin, and draws special attention to the piteous plight of the Malayan smallholder against whom every possible act of ommission and commision has been used.

To conclude he states: "We need a government which we know and feel to be a part of ourselves. Only such a government as this can solve our problems, can develop Malaya and enable the people of Malaya to develop themselves, and can set us on the road to peace and to a longer and richer life."

OLWEN BATTERSBY.

VISCOUNT HINCHINGBROOKE SPEAKS OUT AGAIN—

"Atom bomb a provocation"

We give below extracts from the speech of Viscount Hinchingbrooke in the debate on Germany on August 1. Early in his speech Viscount Hinchingbrooke, who is Conservative member for Dorset South, announced his intention of abstaining from voting on the motion approving the Contractual Agreement.

I do not think that the atom bomb is a deterrent to Russia; I think it is a provocation. I remember Molotov's agonised cry, "We will have it, too." The real deterrent is Russia's unwillingness to be charged with the management of more countries than she could hold down.

I do not think that the communisation of satellite countries constitutes a military terror. I think it is naive after the treaty of Teheran to suppose that they could be anything other than communised, and I further believe that the fact that they have been communised constitutes a most exciting invitation to this country to undo over the next few decades some of the harm wrought by that treaty.

I do not think that the only language the Russians understand is force. I think they will meet force with force and possibly meet a force unwisely proffered by striking first, as is the habit of some of the baser animals.

Shattered overnight

My right hon. Friend the Foreign Secretary said yesterday that the Russians were more likely to talk if we pressed on with re-armament. Respectfully I disagree entirely. I think that, as the military build-up has been going forward in Western Europe, so we have seen the stepping up of the violent anti-American and anti-British propaganda in the East, and now this new no man's land created by the East German Premier across poor, divided Germany.

Why do we re-arm one half of Germany competitively with the other? Do we suppose that they will fight each other, like North and South Korea? If they do, with all these complex guarantees that we have given, Britain becomes a shattered island overnight.

I urge the Government to let it (NATO) rest. I urge them to go for something else. I urge them to go for a four-Power conference with Russia now, even if the agenda is a loose one. I urge them to go for a united Germany much on the lines of the great success we had in the four Power control of united Austria, where, incidentally, the Iron Curtain is no Iron Curtain at all but the thinnest of veils.

COMMUNIST OBJECTORS

The following questions were asked in the House on July 22:

Mr. Driberg (Lab. Maldon) asked the Secretary of State for War what is his policy in regard to the posting to Korea, Malaya or Western Germany, of avowed Communists who have registered as conscientious objectors on political grounds but have been refused exemption from National Service.

Mr. Head: There is no specific policy on this matter: each case is considered on its merits.

Mr. Driberg: Quite apart from the rights of the Army or of any individual in it, is it not evident that it would be absurd to post to Korea, for instance, a man who is legally entitled to believe that the other side in Korea is the right side?

Mr. Head: If I gave to this House an undertaking that I would post no Communist to Korea, it might result in a recruiting drive for the Communist Party.

SOME PEACE TRENDS IN GERMANY

PEACE Movements in West Germany not connected with the World Peace Council of the Partisans of Peace have been developing in strength and numbers since the NATO powers decided upon the re-armament of Western Germany.

Although these different Committees represent different groupings of people they agree on four main points of policy.

(1) They want a United Germany;
(2) They want all German elections to be held immediately as proposed by the East German Government under the same conditions as they were held in the Weimar Republic, and supervised either by a joint Committee of East and West Germans, or by the occupying powers;
(3) They oppose re-militarisation; and
(4) They oppose the Contractual Agreement.

One of the most important of these West German Peace Committees is "The Emergency Committee for the Peace of Europe."

This Committee stands for a neutral Germany, either unarmed or very lightly armed. A Germany which will become a member of a great neutral block of nations comprising Sweden, Finland Switzerland and Australia stretching right across Europe from the North to the South.

As they see it, this block would act as a bridge between the nations of Eastern and Western Europe and foster co-operation and understanding which they recognise as the basis of peace. They hope that later India and the Arab countries will join this neutral block.

To be free and independent

This Neutralist Committee is supported by many prominent Western Germans. Among its executive members are Professor Heinemann, President of the Re-Union of Evangelical Churches; Frau Helene Wessel, MP, President of the Central Party in Western Germany; and Frau Professor Fassbinder of Bonn University.

The Neutralists do not want to be tied by any Treaties to either the NATO Powers, or Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union.

They do not want any obligations to re-arm or restrictions on trade. They want Germany to be independent and free to adopt any policy which will be beneficial to Germany. They believe that the stability of Germany depends upon its complete detachment from either bloc.

They want all foreign armed forces to be withdrawn immediately. Once the paralysis of militarism is eliminated they believe that the German people will take a leading part again in industry, science and culture.

They believe that German skills and capacity for work will again bring prosperity and honour to their land and people.

The Neutralists are anti-Communists but they believe that all political parties should have equal rights and that if all-German elections are held under the conditions of the Weimar Republic elections the Communist Party will not have a very large number of members.

If the US withdrew their troops

There are people in Western Germany who fear that if the United States withdrew their troops the Soviet Union would invade Western Germany, for the purpose of imposing a Communist regime.

The Neutralists do not share this view. They believe that Stalin and the Soviet leaders generally desire peace for both their country and their people who sufffered so terribly in the war, and also that they desire peace to carry out the huge development plans in the Soviet Union.

The Neutralists recall that Communist leaders have said it is impossible to impose Communism by war and that Communism can only develop through internal changes in a capitalist society. For these reasons they do not believe that the Soviet Union would attack Western Germany.

The greatest safeguard

The Neutralists say that if the United States and the Soviet Union both guaranteed the neutrality of Germany it would be the greatest safeguard of peace, as each country would then know in advance that an attack on Germany by one of them would mean war with the other.

This Committee believes that it would be easier for a neutral Germany to establish confidence in the minds of her neighbours. Twice in the last forty years their lands have been invaded by German troops. There are many neighbours of Germany, East, South and West, that are still fearful.

They would regard a neutral unarmed Germany as a more acceptable neighbour.

Another important West German Peace Committee unattached to the World Peace Council, but which has accepted an invitation to the Berlin meeting of that body is "The Working Committee for German Mutual Understanding."

This is an all party Committee. The President is Dr. J. Wirth, formerly Chancellor of the Weimar Republic, Katherine Von Kardorf, a former Reichstag Deputy, and Lord Mayor Willhelm Elfes of Munchen Gladback, are Committee members.

There is also "The Christian Women's Peace Movement" on the Committee of which are Frau Professor Fassbinder, Mrs. Neimoller, Frau Vicar Kueppers, who has her own Church and who works closely with Pastor Neimoller, and a number of other eminent West German women.

There are many earnest people in West Germany who are doing all they can to prevent policies being forced upon them which they believe will pave the way for a future war. They oppose the Contractual Agreement for this reason.

They look to the people of neighbouring countries who wish for peace in the future to do all they can to prevent their Governments from forcing this agreement upon them.

JESSIE M. G. STREET.

The Labour Party's policy statement, "Towards World Plenty," lacks realism, writes Francis Rona, M.Sc. (Econ.) in the first of two "Facts and Figures" articles on

DEVELOPMENT PLANS FOR BACKWARD AREAS

1. Illusions are no substitue for food

THE improvement of living standards and health conditions is the **only** true criterion of social and economic development.

The Labour Party's policy statement published in the pamphlet "Towards World Plenty" lacks realism and cannot be regarded as a serious effort to promote social and economic progress in underdeveloped areas.

The following quotation illustrates (p.11) the pamphlet's complacent approach and faulty, unscientific argument:

"The starting point of economic development is *education*, at all levels: administrators, scientists, teachers, doctors, mechanics, craftsmen, farm assistants, typists—and the rate of progress depends on the output of people to make and carry out plans."

"Economic development must start slowly and gather momentum."

If that is the basis of policy then "development" has to wait until the next century. The pamphlet "War on Want," edited by the Association for World Peace, stressing urgency, ends with the warning: "There is no time to lose."

DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

Colonial or semi-colonial areas—the largest part of Africa, Indonesia, Malaya, the Middle East and several South American republics—are deprived of the economic power to develop their own resources.

Foreign plantation and mining companies, using their industrial and financial supremacy, dictate "specialised production" at lowest cost. Consequently, when prices of primary commodities (wheat, rubber, sugar, tin, etc.) fell steeply in international markets, colonial economies were disrupted owing to their excessive dependence on exports.

During the Great Depression, Brazilians made bonfires of coffee, and maize was used as fuel in Argentina. Indonesians and Malayans were starving, because rubber and tin became unsaleable. Eastern European countries, then under semi-feudal regimes, became bankrupt as wheat prices fell by 60 per cent. People in agricultural areas were starving amidst plenty.

"Neo-Malthusians" were silent that time.

The Labour Party pamphlet, either by oversight or intentionally, does not define the purpose of development. But if one-sided and profit-seeking "development" is carried out by international combines and investment trusts the position of natives will get worse, not better.

Development of backward areas should aim — through rapid economic advance towards a diversified economy—at emancipation from colonial status.

DEVELOPMENT OR DEAD-END ECONOMY?

Unbalanced agricultural development leads to permanent hunger, as shown in the fascinating book by Josué de Castro "Geography of Hunger" (Foreword by Lord Boyd Orr, published by Gollancz).

The Labour pamphlet, overlooking the practical problem, laments the decline in the world's food supplies:

"Development is essential to meet the needs of the world's growing population."

The real problem in many countries, however, is not just food shortage, but a fantastic inequality in the distribution of incomes and the one-crop (monoculture) system. Josué de Castro writes:

"There is not a single country in South America in which the population is free of hunger.

"The disruptive aspects of injudicious colonialism, rather than excess population, exhausted the sources of regional food supply . . . Specialisation brought on the deformed economy in Salvador, which produces practically nothing but coffee.

"When the U.S. took possession of Puerto Rico in 1898 (victory over Spain) it found a population which was far from the misery and hunger that it suffers in our times . . . Now 240,000 acres are devoted to sugar, 190,000 to coffee, 50,000 to tobacco, but only 160,000 to food crops (maize, beans, potatoes) . . .

"Prevented from producing the food she needs Puerto Rico has been dragged into the labyrinth of a dead-end economy.

"The economic policy of the United States has been based on the protection of an insignificant minority at the cost of bitter sacrifice by the majority of the native population."

The American economist Hanson in "Economic Development in Latin America" indicates (p.107) the one-sided production by the following percentages of total exports: Cuba—sugar 90 per cent., Venezuela—petroleum 97 per cent, Bolivia—tin 65 per cent. Largest coffee exporters are: Columbia—77 per cent., El Salvador—80 per cent., Guatemala— 62 per cent., Brazil—42 per cent.

UNJUST TENANCY METHODS

Without some industrialisation, the productivity of workers in Asia and Africa must remain extremely low, as shown in the Table.

Inefficient cultivation in under-developed countries is often due to greedy landlordism and usury. H. Jacoby states in "Agrarian Unrest in S.E. Asia" (Columbia Univ. Press, New York, 1949):

"Usury is endemic in the Philippines as in other countries in this area . . .

"The poor still have to drink the same polluted water that their ancestors have drunk for ages. Malaria, dysentry and tuberculosis still threaten him . . .

"The great majority of Filipino farms are small. More than half of them less than 2 hectares (about 5 acres), of which the half are less than one hectare (2.47 acres).

"The economic and social development in the Philippines (formerly a U.S. colony) was, and still is, in accordance with the general trend in SE Asia."

WILL LABOUR BEG FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE?

The Labour Party must face the fact that the arms drive and economic development of backward areas are incompatible objectives. The pamphlet overlooks the fact that the "Western World" at present has no resources left for setting up a so-called "International Development Agency."

Readers of the pamphlet may erroneously assume that on pages 15-16 the Labour Party's idea of "purposes and functions" of the "Development Agency" is stated. But without indicating the source the authors of "Towards World Plenty"—a misleading title—just copied the recommendation of UN experts. (H.M. Stationery Office: "Measures for Economic Development, pages 85-86.)

In spite of general public disinclination regarding further US assistance, the Labour Party pamphlet concludes that "in particular support of the United States for large investments would be necessary."

The pamphlet is a disgrace to the Labour Party. It is of little educational value and should be withdrawn and rewritten.

Hungry people want quick action, want food; they cannot be fed on illusions.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY BY CONTINENTS.

	Yield per Hectare (eight crops in* metric tons)		Yield (metric tons) per Person engaged in agriculture	
	Pre-war	1947-48	Pre-1939	1947-48
AFRICA	0.77	0.73	0.12	0.12
ASIA	1.26	1.20	0.24	0.22
EUROPE†	1.51	1.34	1.04	0.88
N. & CENT. AMERICA	1.07	1.50	1.80	2.57
S. AMERICA	1.28	1.39	0.58	0.48
WORLD AVERAGE‡	1.24	1.30	0.42	0.42
AFRICAN Yield as per centage of World average‡	62%	56%	29%	29%

SOURCE: *UN Review of Economic Conditions in Africa, 1951, p5.*

NOTES: **Wheat, rye, oats, barley, rice, maize, sugar and potatoes. †Excluding the USSR. ‡Including Oceania, but excluding USSR. One metric ton equals 0.9842 of a British ton (2,240 lbs.) One hectare equals 2.471 acres.*

EXPLANATIONS: *While the US increased the yield per head by 43 per cent in the last ten years, Europe fell back by 15 per cent, S. America by 17 per cent and Asia by 8 per cent.*
Mechanisation in agriculture reduces the number of workers and increases the yield "per capita." In Africa the average yield per head was about one-twentieth of the US average in 1947-48.

"TOP SECRET"

By Cyril Hughes

IF any of you old miseries feel like joining with the more patriotic organs of the British press in bemoaning the decline of the British Empire and the fact that our human athletes failed to bring back any gold medals from Helsinki, we are glad to be able to give you a bracing slap in the puss in the form of a message of hope and encouragement.

"Throw back your shoulders and ask yourselves this question: What have we got that the world hasn't got and that it needs?"

The question is not ours. It was asked by the Rev. J. F. Wrangham Hardy, TD, BA, SCF (TA), in a speech at Leeds on July 24 to the Montagu Burton Branch of the United Nations Association.

The speaker even went on to supply the answer, which was not, as might be supposed, Mr. Churchill or the Dean of Canterbury or a new fast bowler. It was:

"We have one thing above all others, a 'top secret' and likely to remain a 'top secret,' without which human life, that is, civilised human life, becomes more and more a prey to war and disaster."

This reference to a 'top secret' apparently made the Rev. Wrangham Hardy so cagey that we have to plough through two more paragraphs of his reported speech before the secret is revealed. Then we find:

"The key to the plan (i.e. of the Universe and the understanding of it) lies in what is called the Hierarchic Conception of Principle, the execution of the plan lies in the application of that principle to every way of life without exception.

"According to the Hierachic Conception degrees of value are objectively present in the Universe. Everything except God has some natural superior, everything except unformed matter has some natural inferior.

"The goodness, happiness and dignity of every being consists in obeying its natural superior and ruling its natural inferior. When it fails in either part of this two-fold task we have either disease or disaster in the scheme of things until the rebel is either corrected or destroyed."

Sane readers will no doubt observe that that theory merely enlarges, in precise and scholarly terms, the notion already widely disseminated in a popular rhyme about big fleas and little fleas. But the Hierarchic Conception of Principle is more than that. It supercedes all popular brands of skulduggery and stands in the forefront of Lifemanship for two reasons.

*

IN the first place it insists that superiority and inferiority must be established by natural means. This is why it is so peculiarly in harmony with the British way of life. Indeed the Rev. Wrangham Hardy goes out of his way later in his speech to point out that:

"It is the only real bulwark against Communism, which is also Hierarchic though non-personal, and therefore not ultimately natural."

The Commissar establishes an artificial superiority by the practical application of remote and dreary intellectual theories like collectivism, and the dictatorship of those who can spell the word proletariat. British superiority over lesser breeds is made manifest by such natural phenomena as the Bible and the bombing aeroplane; and, in the case of the young, by the personal application of the slipper and the birch.

This is made clear, as the speaker points out, by a careful study of Shakespeare. If the Devil may sometimes quote Scripture, only those really sure of their ground dare turn to Shakespeare.

"Heirarchy," says the Rev. Wrangham Hardy, "is a favourite theme with Shakespeare, and if we do not accept his views of natural authority we cannot possibly make sense of a play such as 'The Taming of the Shrew.'"

And he goes on:

"A child attempting to argue with a father—and that father the wise Prospero—receives the sole answer: 'What? I say, my foot my tutor?'"

A misunderstood version of this quotation is probably responsible for that popular British educational method known as persuasion with the toe end of a boot.

*

THE second important innovation of this new principle occurs in that reference to everything except unformed matter having some natural inferior. The weakness of the Big Flea, Little Flea mode of life has always been that, despite the ad infinitum line, there comes a point where the littlest fleas have nothing left to prey upon; and at this point they have occasionally displayed an uncomfortable tendency to band together and have a bash at the Big Fleas.

The Hierarchic Conception of Principle provides a loophole for which we should be grateful.

Henceforth, even the lowest of the low have something lower than themselves on which to exercise themselves their vital energies.

We are thinking, for instance, of manual labourers. Next time a gang of navvies seeks to suck the blood of its natural superiors by asking for a rise in wages, it will be nice to be able to say: "Derive your living by exploiting unformed matter, your natural inferior," which is so much more polite than the old form of the same thing, "If you want your perishing pay, get digging with those bloody shovels."

In short, as the speaker points out: ". . . order, and with it peace and securjty, can be destroyed in one of two ways:

(1) "First, by ruling or obeying natural equals, that is by tyranny or servility—thank heaven that both are equally noxious to us.

(2) "Secondly, by failing to obey a natural superior or to rule a natural inferior, that is by rebellion or desertion."

And if the question of what is natural and what is not should trouble some of you, comfort yourselves by reflecting that nothing is more natural than a strong right arm or a jewelled crown. The essential truth of the theory, as the reverend gentleman makes clear, is proved by the British way of life, in politics, in religion, in commerce and in sport.

*

FINALLY, we hate to damp the enthusiasm of the exponent of this brilliant new principle of life; but we doubt whether his idea is quite such a "top secret" as he imagines it to be.

Did not Mr. Joseph Chamberlain have some glimmering of the truth when he declared that: "The Anglo Saxon race is infallibly destined to be the predominant race in the history and civilisation of the world?"

Did not Mr. Duff Cooper toy more modestly with the same idea when he said: "I am not at all sure that we are not the greatest people that has ever been on earth?"

Then, of course, there was Dr. Goebbels. Probably the main difference between Dr. Goebbels and the Rev. Wrangham Hardy is that the doctor didn't really believe what he said.

Registration of conscripts for National Service takes place on September 6, when young men born between October 1 and December 31, 1934, are required to register. Any intending conscientious objector is invited to write for information on the procedure to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Up and Doing!

WORLD PEACE BOOK SERVICE

Last week this column reminded readers of the value to the paper, and to themselves, of using Peace News for advertising. Who does not prefer to deal with someone he knows? There is a real bond of fellowship between PN readers.

This week, and during this month, we want to reiterate ways in which many readers can help Peace News to pay its way. We want to *earn* our living and look towards the day when generous gifts—at present most necessary to subsidise the paper—can be used for other forms of pacifist witness.

This autumn many will be wanting books for study, technical works for their profession or trade, presents for birthdays and Christmas, textbooks for schools, hymn book and Bibles for their churches, leisure books and so on.

Our Housmans Bookshop is widely experienced in supplying these needs, and despatches books to all parts of the world. We can obtain foreign books too, and deal in any currency which is convertible in this country.

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Through a thriving trade in general books Housmans has built up a unique specialist service in books and literature on peace. Peace societies and pacifist groups all round the world come to us for supplies. This also is made possible by PN readers who send in their general book orders.

If you have not dealt with Housmans, we shall welcome your enquiries.

Peace News circulation last week, 12,000.

PEACE NEWS AND SOCIALISM

AS one or two correspondents have emphasised—and others have personally complained to me—it is time a halt was called to the implication that pacifism and socialism are, *ipso facto*, bed-fellows.

The movement—of which Peace News is the mouth-piece — claims to be non-sectarian both in the religious and political sphere: on that assumption only is it claiming the support, service, and very real and deep concern of some of its signatories. As one who believes that war-renunciation is a bigger issue than any, or all, of the political "isms" it appears to me beyond doubt that the lack of a spiritual basis renders every political party impotent to rise to the heights of vision and the profundity of the qualities of meekness and humility—plus the faith to translate its tenets into realities—because of this weakness.

I am one of those who has not exercised the right to vote since 1935—a few of us do not forget that a Socialist Government was responsible for peace-time conscription, and the intensifying of a re-armament programme.

JOHN BULLOUGH.

The Orchard,
Risedale, Grange-over-Sands.

(This letter is referred to on page 2.—Ed.)

August the Fourth

IN her column this week Sybil Morrison states that she did not see one newspaper which noted that the date of Bank Holiday was August 4. Evidently she missed the first leading article, headed "August Fourth," in that day's issue of The Times.

Like Sybil, The Times referred to Lord Gray's often misquoted remark: "The lamps are going out all over Europe; we shall not see them lit again in our lifetime," It also commented, though without getting to the dangerous length of recommending pacifism, on the need for decency and faith in human affairs. The following paragraph at least seems hopefully responsible in comparison with the articles on Writers' Cramp and Staggered Holidays which celebrated the anniversary of the first Great War:

"No less noteworthy is the refusal to give up hope of restoring balance in international affairs . . . This refusal has time and again been proved quixotic and it is at this moment no nearer than ever before to asserting itself successfully. Yet it persists and those who hold to it may remind the doubter that uneasy times are more common in history than quiet ones and that to regard the Victorian age and just after as a norm is to falsify the perspective of the centuries. If men living today are in peril, so were most of their ancestors; courage is the indispensable virtue for every civilisation with the will to survive and to courage must be added patience."

VERA BRITTAIN,

4, Whitehall Court,
Westminster, S.W.1.

Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, August 15

CHELSEA: 8 p.m. Manor St. (Opposite Town Hall). Open-air mtg. Stuart Morris. PPU.

PORTSMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. Wesley Central Hall. Public mtg. Sybil Morrison on "Britain, Bridge or Battlefield". FoR.

Saturday, August 16

SOUTHSEA: 7 30 p.m. Open-air mtg. on Front. Sybil Morrison on "Britain, Bridge or Battlefield?". FoR

Sunday, August 17

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m. Speakers' Corner. Open-air mtg. Keith Bovey (Sec., Scottish Area) and Jack Sutherland. PPU

GLASGOW: 8 p.m. Miller St and Argyle St; Open-air mtg. PPU.

Wednesday, August 20

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. Friends' Mtg Ho, Broadweir. "Experiences and impressions of China," Dr. Graham Watt. PPU.

Thursday, August 21

HALIFAX: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg Ho, Clare Rd. Public Mtg. Stanley C. Farrar on "Our Quaker Peace Testimony, Yesterday and Today." Chair: John Furness. SoF.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open air mtg; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends' mtg. house. Bush Rd. John Barnard on "Mind and Medicine". PPU.

Friday, August 22

HALIFAX: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg Ho, Clare Rd. Public Mtg. Lewis M. Hoskins of Philadelphia on "Friends and International Affairs." Chair: Betty West. SoF.

HULL: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg Ho, Leonard A. Bird on "My visit to Helsinki. The Olympic Games—a Contribution to World Peace." Peace Council.

CHELSEA: 8 p.m. Manor St. (Opposite Town Hall). Open-air mtg. PPU.

Sunday, August 24

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m. Speakers' Corner. Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

GLASGOW: 8 p.m. Miller St and Argyle St; Open-air mtg. PPU.

Thursday, August 28

ILFORD: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg Ho, Corner Albert and Cleveland Rds. Mr. Olumbe Bassir on "African Hopes and Fears." Visitors Welcome. PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg Ho, Bush Rd; topical talk by Charles Titford.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open air mtg; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

Sat, Oct 25 - Sun, Oct 26

TRURO: Youth Hostel. Weekend Conference. Speakers: Hugh Faulkner and others. Cornwall Area FoR.

THIS MEANS YOU

The meetings announced in "Notes for your diary," are not confined to members of the organisations sponsoring them nor to pacifists. They are open to all. Some of the meetings are in large halls, some in small rooms in private houses; they are organised by groups of people who want the support of those concerned with the preservation of peace. YOU will be made welcome.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

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TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute. 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

WORLD CONVENTION of Religions on the Foundations of Peace at 51 Lancaster Gate, W.2, August 25 to 31, evening and morning sessions, 7.30 p.m. and 11 a.m. Representatives of six religions, and others, will speak. Programme from Secretary (same address).

ACCOMMODATION WANTED & OFFERED

BEXHILL-ON-SEA. Vegetarian Guest House, comfortable. Vacancies August. Mrs. Cates, The White House, Belle Hill. Tel. 3370.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS, Vegetarian Guest House. Rest and comfort amid beautiful scenery. Arthur and Catherine Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Near Matlock. Tel., Ambergate 44.

HEALTH AND HOLIDAY rest home. Ten miles Manchester. Beautiful country. Pacifists, vegetarians specially welcome. Free health pamphlet on application. Mrs. Asquith, B.Sc., "Longmead," Marple Bridge, Nr. Stockport, Cheshire. Tel. Marple 519.

HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food to visitors and permanent guests. CANonbury 1340. T. and H. Shavler, 27 Hamilton Park, N.5.

SEEKING ACCOMMODATION? Large house, West Midland, some land. Advertiser wants ideas to meet expenses. Communal? Box 448.

TORQUAY. "NUTCOMBE," Rowdens Rd. Entirely vegetarian, happy atmosphere, excellent food, H and C, central for excursions, entertainments and walks. Write for brochure. Mr. and Mrs. E. S. White.

YOUNG BACHELOR desires another to share double bed-sitting room in Bow, E.3. References essential. Box 450.

PERSONAL

CAN ANYONE help couple marrying end September find reasonable accommodation in N.W. London? Phone mornings SPE 8431.

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EDUCATIONAL

PIANIST, WITH special interest in the teaching of systematic technique, has vacancies for a few pupils in London or N. Surrey. Phone Martin Wilson. VIG 4528.

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LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London.

"THE WAY to Peace," a selection of topical quotations from Dr. Barnes, Boyd Orr, New Testament, etc. A positive challenge to our day. 2½d. each, 1s. a dozen, 7s. 6d. 100, post free. A Peace News pamphlet from 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

YOU OUGHT to see the News-letter of the Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ which will be forwarded without charge. Apply to Wallace Hancock, 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex.

SITUATIONS VACANT

The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a Local Office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled Employment Agency IF the applicant is a man aged 18-64 inclusive or a woman aged 18-59 inclusive, UNLESS he or she or the employment is excepted from the provisions of the Notification of Vacancies Order, 1952.

THE CENTRAL BOARD for Conscientious Objectors will shortly need the services of a concerned person for general office work. Apply to The Secretary, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

SOLICITOR REQUIRES filing Clerk-Receptionist capable of receiving with sympathy and understanding people in difficulties. Shorthand-typing an advantage but not essential. Yorkshire. Box 449.

WANTED: Experienced gardener able to drive lorry. Wife willing to help in house. Nice cottage available 8 miles from Nottingham. Brown, The Grove, Cropwell Butler, Notts.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

EXPERT DUPLICATING/typewriting. Mabel Eyles, 395 Hornsey Rd, N.19. Archway 1765, Ex. 1.

FOR SALE & WANTED

HOUSMANS STATIONERY Dept. can now supply White business envelopes, 6" x 3½", 26s. 1,000 (post 1s. 1d.); Manilla 6" x 3½", 18s. 6d. 1,000 (post 1s. 1d.); Manilla "Monotuk," 9" x 6", 50s. 1,000 (post 2s.); Manilla newswrappers, 10½" x 4", 21s. 1,000 (post 1s. 1d.). Special quotations for larger quantities. Cheap copy paper 8" x 6¾", 5s. for 500 sheets (post 1s. 1d.). All enquiries welcomed. Housmans Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

MINIATURE BULBS, Alpines, herbs, seeds. Caravan holidays. Stamp, Armstrong, Back Lane, Sevenoaks.

MODERN HOUSES and businesses of all kinds urgently required for waiting clients. Owners contemplating selling can receive immediate attention by telephoning Parsons and Co., 18, Maplestead Rd., S.W.2. TUL. 3052.

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MISCELLANEOUS

REGINALD BAILEY, Naturopath and psychiatrist. 134 Hoppers Road, N.21. Palmers Green 9868. By appt.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield Middlesex.

What about conscription?

MR. SHINWELL'S SUGGESTIONS

IN an article in the Sunday Pictorial, Mr. Shinwell says that conscription is a waste of manpower and that the term of national service should be progressively reduced so that it should "peter out in 1954."

Most readers of Peace News will be familiar with the arguments which the ex-Minister of Defence produces against conscription. They were used in the debates in the House, and in those on the Army Estimates when Mr. Shinwell was responsible for the Defence services.

How far Mr. Shinwell is now speaking officially for the Labour Party nobody quite knows, but the Labour Party can hardly ignore the views of the ex-Minister of Defence who should be in a position to speak with some knowledge of military matters.

It will be interesting to note how quickly Mr. John Strachey, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Callaghan, Mr. Michael Stewart and Mr. Woodrow Wyatt and other ex-service Ministers who spoke from the dispatch box during the Labour Government will follow Mr. Shinwell's lead in demanding that conscription should be reviewed.

What the Generals want

Certainly I cannot see Mr. Churchill accepting the idea, and I hardly think that the Minister for War, ex-Brigadier Anthony Head or Lord Alexander, the obviously military-minded Minister of Defence will agree to ending conscription even in 1954.

Mr. Shinwell now tells us:

"The generals have always wanted a large body of trained men who would be used in the event of emergency.

But how many men would satisfy them has always been a mystery.

They welcomed the National Service Scheme introduced by the Labour government which is due to end in 1954. But they were disappointed when as Minister of Defence I gave Parliament an assurance that the two-year period of service was a temporary measure to be reviewed in the light of changed conditions."

So Mr. Shinwell's old friends the generals can hardly be expected to approve of his views now. After all the shoemaker has always believed that there was nothing like leather, and the military men know that if the size of the army is cut down and there are less men to be officered the less chances there are for promotion.

As for the Admiralty, Mr. Shinwell makes the startling suggestion:

"What about the other services? It might help if we had an inquiry into the manpower position in the Navy.

"Let all the waste in manpower be exposed."

It would indeed. The very thought of such an enquiry is calculated to send a cold shudder down the backs of the high-ups at the Admiralty.

Air Force too?

Mr. Shinwell does not deal specifically with the Air Force, but if we had a thorough going inquiry here too it would reveal not only a waste of manpower but how large sums of public money have been wasted especially in the manufacture of aircraft which are now obsolete.

Well, when we have it on the word of the Ex-Minister of Defence that there is a great waste of manpower in the armed forces something must be done about it.

But if conscription is the waste of manpower that Mr. Shinwell says it is why keep it going until 1954.

Surely the economic crisis that Britain is faced with is not due in 1954. It is here now. Even Mr. Churchill and Mr. Butler have been compelled to agree to a policy of placing exports of heavy engineering before re-armament. The next two years are going to be vital years for British industry, especially in view of the competition in our markets that is coming from Germany and Japan.

When Mr. Shinwell tells us that we require more manpower on the land if we are to grow more food and more men in the pits if we are going to get more coal, we can only add that this argument applies to a hundred and one other industries too. In fact it is the trouble over the whole of the production front. Either we produce more goods to pay for our food, or a large proportion of our population will have to starve.

The export market for armaments

Mr. Churchill may cherish the idea that we can live by exporting armaments, but the bottom will drop out of that market very quickly if we are not dragged into a war, and if we do get involved in a war the future of industrial Britain is anybody's guess.

Indeed from many points of view conscientious objection to military service has become a patriotic duty though one could hardly expect Mr. Shinwell to advance that argument last week.

However, as the case against conscription has now become so strong, and as Mr. Shinwell has come so far, he should support the idea that conscientious objectors to military service should be recognised as such by making a declaration before a JP or just registering at a Labour Exchange We could then save quite a lot of manpower now employed on the National Service call-up.

Recently Mr. Shinwell has been complaining that Belgium has only been calling up its conscripts for 18 months as against our two years.

Now that the Belgian Government, egged on by NATO, and reproached by us and others that eighteen months is not enough, proposes to increase military conscription to two years, the result has been a national protest in the form of a general strike.

All over Europe attempts to increase the length of conscription are likely to be resented and opposed.

But it has been rather curious and ironical to hear leaders of the Britsh Labour Party pooh-poohing the Belgians because they have less conscription than we have.

Emrys Hughes, M.P.

writes every week in

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A leaflet on the British bomb

THE Campaign Committee of the PPU have prepared a special leaflet on Britain's Atom Bomb for nationwide distribution directly the actual date is known, or if it not known in advance, immediately the news is received. All Groups will have been informed of the plans this week. Watch Peace News also for further information.

BRITAIN JOINS THE ATOM RACE

"An area of 23,000 nautical square miles off the north-west coast of Australia was yesterday declared by the Admiralty to be dangerous to aircraft and shipping because of the forthcoming test of atomic weapons."
—Daily Telegraph, August 9, 1952.

"A resolution calling for the international control of atomic weapons was passed by the International Red Cross Conference in Toronto yesterday . . . A Russian motion for prohibition of all atomic weapons was defeated."
—Daily Telegraph, August 9, 1952.

IT is not so very long ago that Mr. Churchill was exhorting the United States Congress "not to let go of the atomic weapons until you are sure, and more than sure, that other means of preserving the peace are in your hands."

Since he believes, and apparently other leading statesmen agree with him, that peace can be preserved by producing and hoarding weapons of mass destruction, it is not very surprising that it is considered important for Britain to have its own atom bomb, and possibly other atomic weapons as well.

It is only logical to suppose, therefore, that Russia will follow the lead given by America and Britain and endeavour to have its own stockpile, if it has not already done so. Indeed, it is a little difficult to be sure whether Britain is competing at the moment with her ally, America, or with her potential enemy, Russia!

There is constant talk of the necessity for "International Control" of these weapons, though it is seldom explained how control can be exercised over sovereign states in possession of them if their Governments should decide on the necessity for their use.

Prohibition, demanded by the Russians is another word, the use of which is seldom explained. There are numbers of actions prohibited under our laws, but that does not prevent people from ignoring the prohibitions and breaking the laws governing them.

There was a Geneva agreement prohibiting the bombing of "open towns" which was an attempt at international control of the nations' air power. But that did not prevent the bombing of civilians when it was considered militarily worth while.

Control and prohibition of weapons is meaningless in a world that believes in war. All weapons, until war actually comes, are used to try to convince the enemy that he will be defeated in a war, but that kind of threat is never a lasting deterrent: it is, on the contrary, an incitement to "go one better." In the same way as a criminal is not deterred from crime by the penalties attached to it because he does not reckon to be caught, neither are nations prevented from going to war by threats of defeat, since their intention is to be victorious. Criminals nevertheless, do get caught, and nations do get defeated, but war is not prevented.

It is obvious that so long as war is to be relied upon as the last resort, the atom bomb will not come under any control that could prevent its use if victory was the object; the only effective course is not to manufacture it. But that is a step which is never considered by nations, either at conventions and conferences, or around their own Council tables.

*

The atom bomb, is after all, but a horrible extension of the high explosive, the use of which in "obliteration bombing" paled to insignificance in comparison with the total obliteration of some 80,000 human beings in Hiroshima.

It is seven years ago, this month of August, since that disastrous deed of horror was committed and it is the inexorable and inevitable consequence of it that has, this week, brought British squadrons, British scientists and great consignments of stores and equipment to S.W. Australia along with a declaration of a danger area 23,000 square miles in extent.

It is safe to assume that if the tests are considered successful Britain will have its own stockpile. Millions of pounds, and thousands of hour of labour, will have been expended in producing what cannot be consumed unless there is a war.

It is a tragedy that it should be thought possible to negotiate peacefully from behind this arsenal of frightful weapons. Negotiations for the peace that all declare they want, must be based, not upon threats, not upon proposals for controlling what is obviously already out of control, not upon sanctimonious bans upon some weapons while others equally cruel are permitted, but upon a determination to find agreement.

Disarmament, total and absolute, is the only certain foundation for that agreement.

I am very greatly indebted to you for your prompt attention to my needs—I am sure I should seek in vain for such service elsewhere.
—A PN reader.

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At the Appellate Tribunal

Communist refused to fire rifle

AFTER his appeal had been dismissed by the London Appellate Tribunal on Monday, a 22-year-old conscientious objector was led handcuffed back to a military prison to complete a 112-day sentence.

Charles A. McNicol, an apprentice-turner from Glasgow, based his case on political grounds. A member of the Young Communist League since he was 18, he said he had held the office of a branch treasurer.

After being turned down by the Glasgow Tribunal, he was conscripted into the 2nd Battalion, Black Watch, and during a training exercise refused to fire a rifle. Asked why he refused to obey the order to fire, he said "Political reasons, sir. It is the principle of the thing."

In a statement he read to the Tribunal on Monday, he declared, "I do not see it in the interests of the working class to fight in defence of the capitalist system. I will not go to fight in Korea or Malaya against people who share my views."

He said he became a Communist as a result of reading Shaw's "Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism." Asked by Sir Michael McDonnell, Chairman, whether he would fight against a Fascist state, McNicol replied "Not in the defence of capitalism."

He said he would not have served in the British army in the last war, even as allies of the Russians, because it was in defence of capitalism. Sir Michael McDonnell: "The Communist Party did not take that view." McNicol: "Individual members did. We are split on that issue."

A honeymoon hearing

Wedding present for a 22-year-old Birmingham Methodist was the varying of the local tribunal's direction to non-combatant duties to an order to do land, forestry or hospital work.

Sign-writer and art student, Howard Watson, was married last Saturday. He came up to London on his honeymoon, and spent his third day of married life at the Appellate Tribunal.

While he presented the Christian case against war, his young bride sat anxiously behind him. A member of the FoR, he said he designed posters for pacifist groups in Birmingham and Coventry.

Announcing the Tribunal's decision, Sir Michael McDonnell apologised to Watson for "bringing you here in the middle of your honeymoon," and told him to "go away with my good wishes."

Birmingham Councillor appeals

DESMOND GEOFFREY ALLEN, a Z-reservist and Birmingham City Councillor, said that when his case was heard at Birmingham he was first told that his objection to training was upheld, and was then called back and told that there had been a mistake. He could not be regarded as a CO. He pointed out that had the Tribunal been a court of law, the first decision would have been valid.

He denied having told the local Tribunal that he objected to civil defence work, but said he had refused to serve on the Council's Civil Defence Committee because he felt he could only do ARP work in the event of war.

When the Chairman commented that civil defence was for the prevention of war, Allen replied "The only thing that can prevent war is world federal government."

In his statement to the Tribunal he said that he had been convinced, while still in the Army, that it was morally wrong to take life.

He had received a letter from the officer in command of the unit to which he had been recalled for training, asking him to give instruction in the use of the rifle, Bren gun and "other methods of killing my fellow-men. This I definitely can be no party to," he declared.

"I have been told it will prejudice my business and political career," the statement continued, "yet there is no easy way out. A minute, a fortnight or 10 years makes no difference if one is called upon to do something against which the conscience revolts."

His appeal was dismissed.

PPU groups at work

IN spite of the holiday season, many PPU groups, in London and other parts of the country, are busy with propaganda work, or planning activities for the Autumn.

At Lewisham, two members are doing a door-to-door canvas with Peace News. At Ilford, the Group is helping to organise a local public meeting on Korea. Bow Group is distributing leaflets from door to door, and Romford Group is arranging a meeting where they will debate pacifism with non-pacifists.

At least two groups, Eltham and Wembley, are planning campaigns to coincide with the Government's Civil Defence Drive in the autumn.

ADVERTISERS' ANNOUNCEMENT

THE MILLENNIUM

The Christian Communism, by the World Teacher

The World Teacher shows that it is impossible to end war and have justie and peace unless there is a religious world Christendom. The majority will not change their respective religions unless they gain some worldly advantages thereby, and they subordinate their religion to their worldly interests, whereas the religious minority do the opposite.

Non-Christians as a whole will not become Christians, and the latter, if they are not religious, will give up Christianity if it suits them to do so, unless the world is shown that Christianity is the Divine religion, which the Christian missionaries and other Christians have not been able to do. This is now done by the World Teacher, and if publicity is given to it, the world will have no option but to become Christian, and will have the advantage of having justice and peace as well.

Men and nations seek their immediate interests mainly at the expense of their fellow-men and other nations who are weak and backward, which is not in their true interests as it leads to war. Their true interest lies in looking to the interests of one another, so that "Honesty is the best policy in the long run."

"Love God above all things and love one's neighbour as oneself" are the two great commandments of the law. To love God more, a man has to love his neighbour more, whereas if he loves God less, he loves himself more, and consequently loves his neighbour less, that is, man's love for his neighbour is dependent on his love for God.

There are several references to justice and peace by Christ and the Apostles. For Christians to have injustice and war among themselves and try to get justice and peace by means of non-Christian politics is enough to make Satan burst his sides with laughter; they can only claim to be nominal Christians and yet they are not willing to turn over a new leaf.

Booklet 6d, smaller one 3d (postage 1½d) from W.T., 111 Belgrave Road, London, S.W.1.

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